824 461 searching for suitably shaped hard or soft saplings and other woods and certain herbs, than perform carpentry or much transplanting. Apart from saddle-making, the alga-bed, and simple musical instruments, one can hardly speak of any carpentry.

824 313 In preparation for housebuilding and other activities connected with lumbering, the timber provided by nature is divided, in the Amhara view, into two major categories: Male, i.e. hard wood or strong wood; Female or soft, less consistent, or easily pliable woods. Heaviness or lightness are not major categories (as in western countries).

Male woods ("wandē enchāt") and their uses include the following:

Wild Olive Tree ("wāyra") (olea chrysophylla), one of the hardest; often heavy and massive, found on the edge of forests, brown-black in color, quite hilly. Used for construction on plateau, e.g. as saplings for walls, rafters, etc. The small twigs are in common use as "toothbrushes". They are chewed and used to clean teeth and polish gums, as a leisure-time activity after meals.

• [515]

"Wanza" (Cordia abyssinica), a light but hard wood which is found very commonly and is therefore popular; used to make the yokes of oxen, saddles, low, round chairs and other equipment that takes much punishment in use, such as riflestocks when the original has broken.

"Mulkeffa" (Dombeya Bruceana), very hard, used for clubs, e.g. as pestle in the women's crushing of barley.

252 262 the last a few minutes before the wot is ready. Some add capsicum at the same time.

Liver and stomach, especially of sheep and goat, are eaten, but spleen and milt are considered hard to digest and are given to dogs. In general, interior organs are not prestigeful.

Raw beef, "brundo", is still featured at special feasts such as weddings, religious feasts like "täzkär", [K4] as it was featured at feasts of warriors in the past. This brings much tapeworm infection, but the risk is taken because it is believed that "brundo" makes strong like no [755] other food. The painful purgative cure is undergone every two months with "kosso", still a major institution among the Amhara.

To cool the palate linings and tongue from the bärbäre, curdled milk, "ergo", is consumed right afterwards. [515] Hands are carefully washed, for touching the eyes with fingers stained from the spiced stew makes them smart.

Fish, much eaten only in the rainy season, is also boiled in wot, often after slight prefrying in talba (linseed oil); lentils (mesr) are often added.

Lentils become very important in the long lenten season and on every Wednesday and Friday, when the average [784] Amhara still abstains from meat, milk, eggs and other animal products, for religious (Coptic fast) reasons. The staple food during these periods is a porridge called "shero": mashed peas seasoned with spices, onion and vegetable oil.

Another vegetarian staple is "nefro", consisting of peas, chick peas, sorghum, all boiled and eaten as ker-

291 are only of the last items to increase in prestige in very recent years, due to growing imitation of living patters of Addis Ababa. Coptic churches still require removal of footgear.

G. Sanitation.

515 Two traditional traits of health care and sanitation have already been mentioned in connection with the direct use of natural products: polishing teeth, and washing clothes.

[824] Hardwood twigs such as wild olive (Olea chrysophylla) called "wayra", or of the "ahya" or "achema" bush (also softer ones of the type that Somali use in lower elevations) are held between the lips, by men or women, after meals. Even old men (in rural Ethiopia this means men over fifty) have most of their teeth as a result, with little sign of wear or decay. Much of this is due to this habit of polishing teeth and gums at odd moments, much as an American might chew gum. Before this polishing, the end of the twig to be used is masticated thoroughly, and the fibrous ends are then used. The Amhara belief is that this keeps the teeth in sharp condition--they do not do it with the idea of cleaning food remnants out of the mouth. The mental association is than of a bird sharpening its beak.

[296] Already noted also is the use of the potash content
[824] of the seed of the "endod" bush (Sarcunia abyssinica, or, Phytolacca abyssinica), for laundering and washing.

Little more positive statements can be made about sanitation. When water is short in the dry season, which

515 may last 9 months, there is very little bathing, and only hands are washed, in muddy water brought from the river or
514 brook, before and after meals. There are no latrine ditches. Feces are deposited behind thorny bushes 1/4 mile from the hamlet at most, while urination at night proceeds within the hamlet. This practice is followed even in towns and in Addis Ababa. Fortunately the strong sun carbonizes the feces in the dry season, and the strong rain in that season sweeps it away. There is no caste of sweepers, and no attention is paid to human or animal feces, except for the manure of oxen and cows. The latter is hand-pressed into cakes and used as fuel.

364 Hyenas, jackals and vultures are not interfered
825 with, as their services in removing carcasses of animal origin are well appreciated.

165 Abundant sunlight during 9 months of the year, coupled with the scanty clothing of small children, probably gives them their best chance of survival in addition to the long breast-feeding. Nevertheless infant mortality is very high, and in an average family half the babies born die before reaching the age of 5.

164 Flea infestation of humans can be described as
136 complete. This opens the way to flea-born typhus, especially on the highland plateau. Lice are somewhat less general, since they are not regarded by the Amhara as inevitable as fleas. Thus, an Amhara whose hair is infected
136 with lice (e.g. during a stay in prisons which are always
164 lice-infected), he may shave his hair. But louse-born re-
744 lapsing fever epidemics recur from time to time, and the

412 lower, muddy terrain, e.g. in the Käzäga district of the Wolkait jungle border, digging sticks are used to prepare small holes for mashella seed. But the Amhara peasant prefers to use the plow, even on contours of hills, since the use of the stick is hard labor, requiring several men working in unison. Often the stick must be weighed down with heavy rocks against the sun-baked soil in the dry season.

412 407 The scratch plow probably evolved as an elaboration of the digging stick by fixing it at an angle to a long beam pulled forward by the yoke of two oxen, thus substituting animal muscle power for human energy. Among the Amhara, the bottom tip of the plowpoint is almost always strengthened and protected by an iron plowpoint purchased from an ethnic (Falasha) smith. The sharp angle biting into the soil can be adjusted by means of a suspension binding strap of hippopotamus skin, and two small wedges. The farmer merely has to guide the digging-stick part of the plow, and encourage the oxen with his long fiber whip.

412 303 Knives for kitchen use very in length usually from 8 to 12 inches, are curved, with the cutting edge on the curved side which comes to a point. The blade is set in a wooden handle. These knives are also used for circumcision. The old razor blade usually was of similar shape, about 6 inches long, and used primarily for shaping head head hair. It is now replaced by imported European blades. Pincers, 4-5 inches long, are carried on trips to remove thorns from the bare feet. Little ear spoons are suspended from the neck-cord and used to remove earwax, especially by the ladies. [515]

832 Men, particularly young men, are also among his loyal customers.

The däbtära may be called upon to embark upon a magic strategy designed to bewitch a person of the opposite sex so as to fall in love with the client, and also to render the beloved impotent or frigid to all rivals. On a moonlit night, or when unobserved, the dabtara will go to bush or field to seek a certain root, then write the magic bann on a piece of linen, including the names of the persons to be joined in the love bewitchment. This bann is then read over the root as many as 49 times. The root is then chewed, and the masticated paste is carefully preserved for application as soon as possible, to the skin and clothing of the beloved. To do this, tactics such as feigning anger at the beloved and spitting the paste at her so she will not suspect, may be resorted to.

To render a beloved faithful and thoroughly frigid to all rivals may require an even more difficult strategy. The ideal method is to wipe her vulva, preferably the vagina, with the cloth that contains the magic bann, on the pretext of cleaning her after coitus. Conversely, a woman employing this magic may use the cloth to wipe his genitals after coitus, to render him impotent with other women. If the bewitched finds the cloth, he or she can break the spell by washing it in a running river that contains fish. Even if not all of the ink or dye comes off, if fish can nibble at it, it is believed that the spell is broken and carried off.

There are many variations of this basic procedure. Some däbtära "prove" their power to sceptical clients by "testing" the efficacy of the bann and the paste. They may agree to try it out on one of the "unattached women" that earn a living by brewing daily barley beer. They enter her "tälla bét", order beer, and the dabtara, apparently 595 chewing on an olive twig preparatory to polishing his teeth with it, which is general common procedure, spits out what the woman believes

3. Expressive-Physical Arts.

531 Physical arts, like their material culture, are little developed among the Amhara, compared to their elaborate spiritual culture. If their life cycle gives any clue, it seems that the explanation lies at least in part in the end of free experimentation at the onset of adolescence, after which the experimentation is fettered into lines ordained by the Coptic church. Especially fine art, is considered exclusively within the domain of the church. This leaves little beyond body care and ornamentation for expression of physical arts, and even [302] this is partly dedicated to religion, such as the rationalized plucking of pubic hair of the woman, and the fullest expression of body arts on the occasion of church festivals.

171 It is also interesting to observe how patterns of the Middle East and of Africa are so evidently drawn from and synthesized in the traditional Amhara pattern of expressive physical arts, particularly in body care and ornamentation.

A. Body Care and Ornamentation.

515 [312] Washing in the dry season is difficult, since water is scarce and there are no wells. However, with some little effort, water can even then be obtained by digging in the riverbed, since the water table is high; this is what travellers do. Near towns the latter effort develops into a business, for water carriers, employing women as cheap labor to carry the water in their clay pots uphill to the town, charge 5¢ [548] (Ethiopian) per potfull of water. Only the "unattached woman" who has a cash income from beer-brewing or temporary wife - prostitution, can afford this, and usually buys a potfull of this muddy water every day during the long dry season, to wash herself and her clothing regularly and frequently, at a time when the fully respectable Amhara housewife goes unwashed (except for hands and private parts). Divorcees looking for husbands and professional women alone feel the need for daily

515 washing of the body and frequent washing of clothes, and an individual housewife who takes it upon herself to wash more than expected is noticed as different and suspected as possibly being not as respectable and innocent as she might like to appear.

388 In washing, especially of clothes, a soapwort ("endod") (pircunia abyssinica) is gathered from wild bushes the location of which is carefully remembered, for they are not planted. The yellow fruit is dried and crushed, on a flat rock above the river or in it when the water is shallow. It is mixed with water, so that a greenish-white foam results. The fingermarks, resulting from the mixing and gathering of the foam, can be seen on rocks where the sun has dried the remnant.

[574] 515 302 Dry grass is used as toilet paper, usually held in the left hand. Women fumigate their bodies frequently, in the dry season because water is short and hard to come by; in the rainy season, after bathing in the brook or river, to "get rid of the river odor". For, especially at the beginning of the rainy season, the rivers are muddy and carry much smelly debris.

There are 3 different, major kinds of fumigation wood ("yätis enchät"): Domestic incense gathered in the woods by commoner women are "abalo" and "täjo" (Phamnus straddo); noblewomen and wealthy women aiming at prestige despise domestic woods, and insist on imported incense, primarily "etan" (frankincense), more expensive but freely purchasable on all markets because it is used regularly in the church, during services.

302 Plucking out of pubic hair, by means of ashes held between the fingers, was considered one of the most important duties of feminine hygiene. Men might shave, though not pluck, their pubic hair, if they desired to do so for special "cleanliness". This procedure of plucking

554

302 was required of females past puberty, i.e. women of marriage age, and they were not supposed to substitute the less efficient method of shaving. The proverb says;

[539]

"To a man who plucks out,
to a woman who shaves (pubic hair),
forgive He (God) will not."

However, in the recent change situation, possibly since the spread of the European razor blade, plucking is becoming a lost art among the younger generation; and, while women now shave their pubic hair; men let it grow naturally as most of them apparently have always done.

515 The continuous polishing of teeth ("mewachä") has already been mentioned. This is one of the few activities of body care in which even men indulge as continuously as women. The reason is that it is not regarded as "for cleanliness" (which is considered less necessary for men, in a culture which regards women as "dirty"), but as "polishing" and "sharpening" this equipment of nature for powerful use, much like birds whet their beaks, readying them for action. The polishing is done with a hardwood twig, the ends of which are masticated first, and and motion is upward and downward, so that the upper gums receive considerable massage also.

302 Nails are given little attention, except in the case of the bride, whose nails are trimmed usually a day before the wedding, so that she will not be able to scratch the bridegroom when he has to use force to deflower her. Her nails are cut so short that not infrequently the skin is cut, and hot butter is applied, to heal them and also render the fingers caressingly smooth.

Reddening of palms, fingers and soles of feet is feminine procedure in preparation for holy days and festivities. The most common cosmetic used for this purpose is called "ensosella" (Impatiens tinctore), a

6: Messing E-5 (1953-1954) 1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

539 and was always looking up intently and with concentration. One of his friends asked him, "What are you looking for?"

"*Mawéa*," replied the wit in his classic manner. [The literal meaning is "exit," i.e., either the exit from the trail on the tiring climb, or "the place where we emerge" from the female body.]

The Wit At Home. Home in his hut in Gondar, AG-H was one day at dusk lying on his bed. [56] His wife had gone to the river to wash her private parts, as is the custom of the Amhara women at nightfall. Tired from the uphill climb from the valley, she rested before the hearth to dry herself, but dozed off. Soon AG-H heard a cannonade of farting, issuing from his half-conscious wife. He called out to her, "Where are you? Come to bed!"

Awakening, she said dazedly, "I am just drying myself."

To which he replied, "You are drying yourself so much that you are cracking apart."

[302] *A Woman's "Way."* [In accordance with ancient custom, women used to pluck out their pubic hair, rubbing ashes between their fingers to get a good grip while plucking.]

One day a girl student of AG-H was late for her lesson. Taking a quick short-cut across the back yard, she tumbled into the ash heap, soiling her lower toga and her legs with the ashes. She excused her appearance to her teacher, saying, "Oh, Master, I was so eager to come quickly, and now I have dirtied myself with ashes all over."

"That is *your way*," nodded AG-H.

Only much later did the girl learn that he had meant not only the wrong way she had come, but was referring to the fact that being smudged with ashes was the natural "way" for a woman.

[564] *The Pot Of Caste.* [The women of the Falasha caste are makers of pottery, a despised occu-
[323] pation among the Coptic Amhara, though much appreciated by the Amhara, who buy all their better pots from them.]

The wife of AG-H, quarreling with a certain woman, accused her of being of Falasha ancestry and that her mother had been a pottery-maker. One day that woman returned from the river valley, carrying a large, full pot of water on her back. She saw AG-H sitting in front of his hut, and decided to take the opportunity to complain to him about the taunts of his wife.

AG-H disliked being involved in the petty quarreling of the womenfolk, but he listened quietly. As she took leave, he patted her full clay pot and said, "*This* is your work."

She thought that he meant she should not quarrel with his wife, should instead attend to her tasks of fetching water, cooking, etc. But on further reflection what had he meant? Had he accused her of being a pottery-maker herself?

Jealousy Is Dangerous. AG-H was also notorious for his prowess in bed and his fickleness in love.

One day his wife had to go far down to a valley to fetch water, since the dry season had left only water holes in the river bed. She left him in charge of their baby. Taking the baby with him, he went to the hut of his current girl friend and spent the afternoon making passionate love. As it happened, this woman also had a baby about the same age. Dusk came rapidly, and AG-H knew that his wife would soon be back. In the hurry, he took the wrong baby.

A moment after his return his wife arrived, laden with water pot and firewood. When she beheld the baby of her current rival, she became very angry and said, "This thing is not my baby! Shall I throw it in the fire?"

Calm as ever, AG-H replied: "There is a fire also in the house of his mother."

University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

SIMON D. MESSING

8: Rey G-5 (1910-1920)1935
MP5 Amhara MP5

The Abyssinian lady and gentleman are frequently to be seen with a black satin three-quarter mantle, ornamented by a little gold braid round the neck and generally a coloured silk lining. In the rainy season a black woollen-hooded cape or *burnous* is donned by all classes, women wearing the hood at the back, and men sporting theirs on their left shoulder. The *burnous* is also a sign of mourning, for which purpose people of every class wear it.

A further, and less pleasant, sign of mourning is for the bereaved one to refrain from washing his clothes; but I only observed this practice in connection with servants and persons of humble position. Ordinarily they are very keen on washing their white garments, and even on trek there was a great "clean-up" whenever we stayed in camp for an extra twenty-four hours. The day before our return into Addis was always the occasion for the most lavish use of soap and water, and the *safari* on arrival looked really quite smart, the men all having donned spotless white *chammas*, shirt, and trousers for the occasion, when, I am bound to say, they looked externally a good deal cleaner than our travel-stained garments allowed us to do.

A cartridge belt of various colours and designs, from the plain native leather to the gold and silk embroidered specimen, is more or less generally worn by the men, and its value is also often an indication to the position or means of the wearer. In its place women use a girdle of some sort, to which is attached their keys, ear-cleaners, head-scratchers, and small silver ornaments. Parasols of neatly plaited grass, intermixed with coloured cottons, are carried frequently by both sexes in all seasons. These are quite picturesque, and no doubt serve their

8: Rey G-5 (1910-1920)1935
MP5 Amhara MP5

habit is not confined to Abyssinia! The second, which is more curious, is that of protection against the sun's rays. In this connection it is interesting to recall that Mr Mansfield Parkyns, who spent three years in Abyssinia, used no head covering of any sort at any time other than a coating of butter, which he says he found as effective as any hat.

The third (and most frivolous) reason is that butter in the hair hampers the free movement (and consequent irritation) of the little creatures that live there. There is possibly something in this, as a "head-scratcher", in the form of a blunt silver or wooden pin, is a general ornament, as incidentally is also an "ear-cleaner" which resembles a small salt-spoon.

In some parts of the country where the hairdressing mode is of an elaborate character, the women, when lying down to sleep, use wooden head-rests for their necks, made of a slightly curved piece of wood supported on a sort of foot, the whole being a few inches high. Some of these are quite elaborately carved or coloured; but however pleasing they may be to the eye—and I have seen some very pretty ones—they must make exceedingly uncomfortable pillows, and the use of them appears to argue an even greater interest in personal appearance than European women display. These head-rests are of very ancient origin; they are curiously similar to the one discovered in Tutankhamen's tomb.

The more wealthy Abyssinians are very partial to scents and scented hair oils; the strength of the scent is more important to them than its quality, and the shops in Addis Ababa do a brisk trade in inferior

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

622 rounding a local church, and therefore "parish" may be the more appropriate
621 term for it than village. The *chĭqā shum* and the local church authorities
794 work closely on occasion, particularly in connection with the construction and maintenance of church buildings.

*565 The church represents the third main link between the peasant hamlet and
79 the broader Abyssinian life. As the peasant depends on the local market to
182 mediate between his production unit and the external economy, and on the *chĭqā shum* to mediate between his domestic polity and the higher political authorities, so he depends on the local clergy to mediate between his home culture and the "high culture" of Abyssinia as embodied in the institutions of the Orthodox Church.

The peasant supports the church by following its main ritual requirements and by contributing, according to his means, a certain quantity of grain each year. If the peasant works land owned by the church, a considerable part of his produce is transmitted automatically to individual priests, or gifts are offered to the church according to the occasion. In return, the church symbolizes for him the integrity of his moral order and provides moral support during personal crisis.

*565 Such, in broad outline, is the structural setting of peasant life among the Amhara.

THE WORLD OF ACTIVITY

*565
512 ### *The Daily Round*

Work begins in the peasant's home well before daybreak. His wife or maid-
[462] servant rises with the first cockcrow to grind grain. It is pitch dark as she feels
[252] her way across the earthen floor and begins to push and pull a large flat stone over little heaps of barley, wheat, or *tĕff*.

An hour or two later cold light seeps in through cracks in the door and, if it is in bad repair, the thatched roof. The noises of chickens and livestock
[782] become more audible, and the rest of the household begins to stir. The man of the house starts his day by reciting a prayer or, if he has some education,
[231] by reading a passage from some sacred text. Then he or one of the boys takes
[462] the oxen and cows out for breakfast, to a pile of hay in the yard or a spot of pasture rich with grass. Donkeys, mules, and perhaps horses are also sent to graze.

[372] One of the women pokes the embers that spent the night under a blanket of ash. She blows them into flame through a bamboo pipe, filling the room
[262] with smoke and her eyes with tears. Over the fire she sets a clay pot to warm
[252] up leftover pepper sauce. The peasant sits on a sheepskin spread over the clay
[352] bench that adjoins the wall. Water is poured from a gourd for him to wash
[515] his hands, and *ĭnjarā* and sauce are brought for his breakfast. He eats by him-
[264] self, slowly, pondering the work for the day.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

the morning and what remains to be done. The peasant may retire for a nap, and perhaps to lie with his wife, before taking up the afternoon's work. He returns for about three more hours of plowing after his noon rest. The afternoon sun burns down on him; the plow is harder to wield; he plods on. At home the women continue their work, no sooner finishing one task than they attend to another. The mother puts the child who rides on her back to the breast whenever it cries.

The shepherds do not come home for lunch. They have taken some *ǐnjarā* or *dābo* ("whole wheat bread") along with them. In harvest months they enjoy a special treat, roasting grains or pulse which they have snatched from somebody's field. Though their responsibility is great—a boy will be whipped if an animal in his charge gets hurt or lost or if it gets into fields of grain—their work is light. They spend the day running idly, practicing war chants, playing at various adult activities. Their mood is as free as the great spaces about them. As the day grows hotter they are likely to discard their sheepskin covering and move about naked. Toward dusk, the shepherds' spirits quicken. Their songs become more excited; lively melodies are heard from their wooden flutes. It is time to go home to family, supper, and fire.

When father and sons enter after the day's work, they start munching on roasted grains, *ǐnjarā*, or *dābo*. They may drink some *ṭallā* and relax. It begins to get chilly. The room is dark and smoky, the fleas bite them—but it is the easiest time of the day. The family is together, and everyone enjoys talking and hearing about the homely events of the day. A few hours after dark, supper is served. Parents and older children eat together out of a common basket. Younger children and servants stand respectfully, awaiting their turn, grateful if someone places a large bite of food in their mouths.

After dinner there is a great washing of feet—the father's by his wife or children, the others' by themselves. The peasant recites or reads his evening prayers and lies down on his bed made of strips of cowhide. The children settle for the night on the clay benches. Last of all, the mother covers the embers with ashes, sets out the grain she must grind before dawn, and places her weary body next to that of her husband's.

This grueling schedule is not repeated every day. On nearly half the days in each month heavy labor is not permitted—men may not plow or harvest, women may not grind or spin. These are holy days: Saturdays and Sundays (both of which are honored as the Sabbath in Abyssinia) and the monthly and annual commemorations of the saints.

The woman's schedule on such days is only lightened, not radically altered. Food and drink must still be prepared and served. Except for a possible trip to church with her husband Sunday morning before breakfast, a woman's hours are still confined to the home compound and its obligations. The shepherds must still take care of their herds, though some boys may get together for

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

to cheat the locals. The health officer in charge of the team then brought some of the objectors to the mobile laboratory, patiently explained what was going on, and how it would benefit the people. Before long word got around that these outsiders were not so evil after all, and the doors of Dajan opened.

Given the possibility that the Amhara peasant may come to acknowledge the public health worker as a legitimate agent of change, what about the discrepancy between the ideas advanced by the public health workers and the ideas of his traditional culture? The conception of the causation of illness is radically different in the two cultures. Since the peasant views the etiology of disease as a function of the will of supernatural beings, on what grounds could he adhere to prophylactic measures based on naturalistic conceptions?

Valid though our characterization of the peasant's concept of causation may be, it is nevertheless a very simplified one. It is unlikely that any world view is totally devoid of some sort of naturalistic explanations, just as, conversely, well-educated moderns often cling to residues of "superstition." Though the Amhara's general framework for understanding causation is not naturalistic, he does possess a number of specific notions which can be interpreted as naturalistic or protonaturalistic. Here are some examples:

(1) The belief that an excessively dirty house brings sickness (even though in practice animals are permitted to urinate and defecate indoors and strings of soot to hang from the rafters).

(2) A vague notion that the daily washing of hands, mouth, and feet is related to health.

(3) The concept of *metch*, an ailment involving fever and pains, believed to come from exposure to dirty places as well as excessive exposure to the sun (though the devil is often thought to be the conveyer of the ailment).

(4) The concept of *gershā*, a notion that a convalescent is liable to relapse unless he refrains from eating unaccustomed foods, resumes work slowly, stays out of the sun, and washes his body and clothes.

(5) A latent concept of contagion, found in: (a) the belief that smelling the urine of another will give one a cold, (b) the belief that the breath of a typhus patient will communicate his disease, and (c) the custom of referring to all diseases which can be given by one person to another as "*zār* sickness."

Even when the explanations set forth by the health workers deviate too much from what the peasant can possibly conceive as plausible, there may still be grounds to justify his accepting some strange advice through an appeal to more familiar beliefs and interests less directly related to the matter at hand. Thus, while peasants have been reluctant to accept the sanitarian's argument that diseases will be prevented by sanitizing the water supply through building wells, they have often been persuaded to build wells by the prospect of securing a more convenient source of water.

Measuring the relative strength of forces supporting and opposing change

12:Young E-4,5 (1966) 1971 MP5 Amhara MP5
Begemder

*793
869
875 criteria. His personal interest means to the student rapid advancement through the curriculum, dining at the master's table, and enjoying privileged information of a non-ecclesiastical nature. Without his patronship, a student is committed to years of uncertainty and physical misery, scraping to meet his subsistence needs, paying his "tuition" in demeaning services, such as gathering the master's wood and tilling his garden, and in deferential performances, particularly washing the master's feet and those of his visitors.

*793
869 The kiyne student is further troubled by the many
[342] ailments which are his lot. He lives, with one or two of his mates, in a wretched lean-to of twigs and wild grasses, which proves to be poor protection against the
[291] cold winter rains. Often he owns only the toga on his
[515] back, and it, like him, remains unwashed for the dura-
[164] tion of the long dry season. Thus, ikek (scrofula) becomes his badge, and kurtimat (joint pains) and weba
[262] (fever) his recurrent companions. The student's diet
*[192] is his special concern, since it conspicuously lacks the combination of wholesome wot (stew) and injera (pancake-
[735] like bread) necessary to sustain good health. He ob-
[164] tains most of his food by begging in the town and local hamlets, where he generally receives scraps of stale injera bread, always inadequate and potentially pathogenic (i.e., likift bearing, threatening fever and